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ABSTRACT

This research report studies the impact of informal extracurricular activities and formal social studies curriculum on the political socialization process of high school students. The hypothesis is that involvement in extracurricular activities, school partisan political activities, and exposure to formal course work in social studies is positively related to political participation. Results of testing 1,811 high school students in Washington, D. C. indicate that extracurricular activities and school partisan political activities are not consistently positive in correlation with political participation. The correlation between the number of social studies courses the student takes and political participation is also weak. When testing for civics and government courses that include involvement in real political and community activities the correlation with later political participation is positive. The major implication of the report is that, if one wants to promote political participation, class activities and extracurricular activities should include out-of-class, real political and community activities. (Author/DE)

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ADOLESCENT POLITICAL EDUCATION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

by

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Studies dealing with the high school as a primary agent in the political socialization process can be classified into two major dimensions or methods. These two methods are the indirect method, referring to the informal extracurricular activities program and quasi-political activities,[1] and the direct method, embracing the formal social studies curriculum. With regard to both of these methods and the high school, the findings are mixed, if not disturbing, as the following selected summaries indicate.

The findings are contradictory, to be sure, regarding the indirect method of political socialization. Ziblatt hypothesized that there should be a direct relationship between participation in extracurricular activities and attitude toward politics. Ziblatt found no such direct relationship; he found instead that the relationship was affected by socioeconomic status, which was in turn associated with social trust. This feeling of social trust, not participation in extracurricular activities, was linked with a positive attitude toward politics.[2] Conversely, Lewis found a positive relationship between participation in extracurricular activities and political efficacy, legitimacy of political institutions, and anticipatory political participation.[3]

One of the more puzzling and perplexing set of findings to emerge is the impact of the social studies curriculum per se, on political orientations. Langton and Jennings examined the impact of the civics curriculum on political behavior and attitudes of American secondary school students. Although they discovered a positive relationship between the number of civics courses and such political orientations as knowledge, interest, discourse, efficacy, cynicism, and participation, the strength or magnitude of these relationships was weak.[4]

Ehman also investigated the relationship between the number of social studies courses and, in addition, the number of teachers who dealt with controversial issues and consequent political orientations. He found that neither the number of social studies courses nor number of controversial issues oriented teachers were by themselves powerful predictors of cynicism, efficacy, sense of citizenship duty, and participation. However, Ehman did find that when

classroom climate is included in a multivariate analysis, it resulted in observable interactions with the previously mentioned political orientations.[5]

Langton and Karnes examined the relationship between school politicization (how often political and social issues are discussed and debated) and political efficacy. They found that the school's impact was limited to moving students from low-to-medium efficacy.[6]

Shantz explored high school students' political orientations, including interest, tolerance, and participative orientation. She found positive attitudes toward all three political orientations, but adolescents did not assume an active role politically--not even in the discussion and reading about public affairs. Simply stated, as high school students moved from an expression of interest to an active, participant role, there was a consistent decline.[7]

In contrast to these mixed findings regarding the social studies curriculum, Patrick found a consistently strong and positive relationship between an experimental course, American Political Behavior, and political knowledge and skills. However, the impact of this course did not carry over into the attitudinal domain.[8]

Litt found that the civics program did affect political values such as strengthening support for democratic processes; on the other hand, he concluded that the civics program did not affect student orientations regarding participation of citizens.[9]

Given the contradictory and ambiguous nature of the foregoing findings, we need to marshal additional evidence before we can begin to accurately assess the impact of the high school on political orientations. To provide a partial test regarding what, if any, is the direct impact of the school, we need to explore both its indirect or informal dimension (extracurricular activities and quasi-political activities), and its direct or formal dimension (the social studies curriculum). We shall be examining the impact of the high school including both of these dimensions on subsequent political participation patterns. Attitudes and opinions are being skirted for two reasons: (1) it is not likely that during adolescence

already-formed attitudes are likely to change drastically due to exposure to a few social studies courses, and (2) social psychological evidence cogently supports the notion that attitude identification and measurement are not easily nor tidily explained, and attitude change is not easily induced.[10]

Theoretical Observations

This study is lodged within two competing theoretical frameworks or models, the Apprenticeship Model and the Accumulation Model. The Apprenticeship Model describes an indirect method of political socialization. It stresses the acquisition of behavior patterns which occur in essentially nonpolitical contexts, but subsequently influence the individual's participation in manifest political situations. Stated somewhat differently, the Apprenticeship Model is a two-step learning process. The acquisition of skills, insights, and expectations acquired in nonpolitical or quasi-political situations are transferred to later overt political situations.[11] From the Apprenticeship Model we can derive the following propositions:

P_1 Involvement in extracurricular activities is positively related to manifest political participation.

P_2 Involvement in school partisan political activities is positively related to manifest political participation.

The Accumulation Model describes a direct method of political socialization. It stresses the learning of acceptable behavior patterns in a formal manner via the social studies curriculum. Simply put, it is the deliberate attempt to transmit political role expectations. The individual's involvement and behavior are viewed as a direct outcome of specific and categorical teaching, and knowledge or information gleaned from the social studies curriculum not only encourages but is a prerequisite for effective participation in the political arena.[12] We can derive the following proposition from the Accumulation Model:

P_3 Exposure to formal course work in social studies is positively related to manifest political participation.

It should be noted that these forms of political socialization are not mutually exclusive. Students learn about their political culture via both direct and indirect modes. One mode of learning may predominate at one stage of political maturation, and the second mode at another stage. The critical distinction according to Dawson and Prewitt is "...the degree to which the socialization experience is infused with specific political content."[13]

Study Design

The population for this research was a national but not representative sample of 1811 high school students. The respondents were gathered in Washington, D.C. to participate in a special educational program called the Presidential Classroom for Young Americans. The students were surveyed by means of a paper and pencil questionnaire administered over the period mid-February to mid-March 1971.[14]

Our primary concern is to examine the magnitude of the relationships between educational variables and four dependent participation variables. All of these variables were constructed from questionnaire items. The four independent variables and their component items are discussed below.

The independent variable of Extracurricular Activities is a summary index of the total number of self-reported memberships in such activities as school newspapers, honor groups, and sports related clubs.

The second independent variable is School Partisan Political Activities. It is a summary index of positive responses to involvement in such school activities as running for an elective office, helping someone run for such an office, or having been an officer or committee chairman. These two independent variables are derived from the Apprenticeship Model.

In order to tap the direct, formal dimension of social studies course work, two independent variables have been developed. One is a gross measure of the total number of social studies courses taken by each respondent; this independent variable is a summary index of the total number of courses taken by each respondent. The second independent variable central to proposition three stated above is the following questionnaire item:

Did you have any courses in civics and government in high school where as part of the course you participated in real political and/or community activities such as working in a local political campaign or a community action project?

These two independent variables are derived from the Accumulation Model.

Four participation scales have been constructed from questionnaire items and they are examples of the dependent variable of concern here -- manifest political participation.

A Political Discussion Scale was constructed from the items below to form a Guttman scale (CR=.946), in order of most difficult to respond to positively. Scale scores ranged from 0-3.

How often do you talk about public affairs and politics with each of the following:

1. adults other than teachers or members of your family
2. members of your family
3. your friends outside of class?

An Expression of Political Opinion Scale was built from the following questionnaire items to form a Guttman scale (CR=.920), in the order of most difficult to least difficult to respond to positively. Scale scores ranged from 0-2.

1. Have you ever written a letter to the editor of a newspaper or magazine giving any political opinions?
2. Have you ever written to any public officials giving them your opinion about something that should be done?

A Political Organization Membership Scale was developed from the items below to form a Guttman scale (CR=.916), in the order of items most difficult to respond to positively. Scores ranged from 0-3 on this scale.

1. During high school, have you been a member of any civil rights groups such as SNCC, CORE, NAACP or others?
2. During high school, have you been a member of any international groups or organization such as UNESCO or Youth International?
3. During high school, have you been a member of any political clubs or organizations such as the Young Democrats, the Young Republicans, the Young Americans for Freedom, Students for a Democratic Society, and so forth?

A Partisan Political Activities Scale was constructed from the items below to form a Guttman scale (CR=.896), in the order of most

difficult to respond to positively. Scale scores ranged from 0-4.

1. During an election campaign have you ever given any money or bought tickets or anything to help the campaign for one of the parties or candidates?
2. Have you ever worked for a political party or candidate during an election campaign?
3. Have you ever attended any political meetings, rallies, dinners, or things like that during any election campaigns?
4. Have you ever worn a political campaign button or put a campaign sticker on your car during an election campaign?[15]

In the analysis to follow, we consistently controlled for seven potentially intervening or predictor variables, two of which were summary indexes constructed from two or more separate questionnaire items; the other five control variables were single items. The single item measures were (1) sex, (2) race, (3) socioeconomic status (self-ranked), (4) rural-urban residence, and (5) school size. The two summary indexes and their component items are as follows: (6) Family Politicization Index (mother and father's level of interest in public affairs and politics) and (7) Mass Media Exposure Index (level of exposure to public affairs and politics via newspapers, radio, magazines, and television). Also, as we analyze the relationship between each independent variable and the four dependent variables (indicators of manifest political participation), we shall control for the remaining three independent variables. By adding these additional controls, we can examine one theoretical model while controlling for the potential influence of the remaining model and vice versa.

The purposive nature of our sample, a concern with multiple predictors, and our failure to meet the usual assumptions of such common parametric procedures as analysis of variance or multiple regression presents problems. One method for coping with these problems is to utilize a computer program (MCA--Multiple Classification Analysis).

The MCA method allows the use of independent variables as weak as nominal or ordinal level with as few as two or three categories, does not assume linearity between independent and dependent variables, and accepts unequal numbers of cell cases. For each category of each independent variable, the method yields the unadjusted mean score for the dependent variable and an adjusted mean which considers the effects of all remaining independent variables (i.e., partials out their effects). The method also determines for each independent variable the zero-order

(eta) and partial order (beta) correlation coefficients. These correlations are essentially analagous to Pearsonian r's in that when squared, they indicate the proportion of variance explained in the dependent variable(s).[16]

Findings and Analysis

The analysis to follow is comprised chiefly of two basic parts. First, the magnitude of the zero-order correlations (etas) between each independent variable and the dependent variables are reported. Secondly, the partial correlations (betas) are reported for the same relationships. If the magnitude of the two correlation coefficients remains essentially unchanged, we can infer a direct, rather than spurious, relationship between our variables.

The Apprenticeship Model

Let us first examine the relationship between extracurricular activities and manifest political participation in Table 1 below.

The correlations are largely in the hypothesized direction, but they are also weak, if not trivial. The strongest eta is only +.10 (between extracurricular activities and political discussion and partisan political activities); all but one of the corresponding partial betas do decline. However, this reduction is slight, with the exception of the eta and partial beta for political opinion, in view of the number of control variables. As expected, the mean scores for political discussion (range is 0-3) and partisan political activities (range is 0-4) are moderately high. Conversely, the mean scores for political opinion (range is 0-2) and political organization membership (range is 0-3) are low.

The differences in mean scores on the four indicators of political participation present a contradiction. Each political activity can be concerned as requiring differential expenditures of time, energy, commitment, and intensity. The moderately high mean scores for partisan political activities leads one to expect higher mean scores for political organization membership and political opinion, activities requiring less expenditure of time, energy, commitment, and intensity than involvement in partisan political activities.

This contradiction can be partially explained by these observations. First, the measure of degree of political discussion taps friends, family members, and adults excepting teachers and family members. Since students have ready and repeated accessibility to these

TABLE 1

INVOLVEMENT IN EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES AND FOUR INDICATORS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: WITHOUT CONTROLS AND WITH STATISTICAL CONTROLS

	Extracurricular Activities							
	Without Controls /Eta				With Statistical Controls[a]/Beta			
	0-1	2-3	4-5		0-1	2-3	4-5	
Political Discussion								
$\bar{X}$	2.45	2.63	2.68	+.10	2.50	2.62	2.67	+.08
Expression of Political Opinion								
$\bar{X}$	0.35	0.40	0.47	+.06	0.42	0.42	0.43	.008
Political Organization Membership								
$\bar{X}$	0.69	0.78	0.92	+.01	0.83	0.78	0.88	.06
Partisan Political Activities								
$\bar{X}$	2.04	2.14	2.40	+.10	2.27	2.15	2.30	.05
Numbers	(114)	(495)	(330)		(114)	(495)	(330)	

[a]Sex, race, socioeconomic status, rural-urban residence, school size, family politicization, number of social studies courses, exposure to a course in civics and government, which includes involvement in real political and/or community activities (these last two controls constitute the predictors intrinsic to the Accumulation Model), involvement in school partisan political activities, and exposure to the mass media are statistically controlled.

persons, high mean scores are expected. The low mean scores for political organization membership may be a result of the idiosyncratic nature of two items. Black students would be more likely to report membership in such organizations as CORE compared to their white counterparts, but Blacks constitute only a little over six percent of our sample. The second item, membership in international organizations, assume students have access to such groups; this may be an unrealistic assumption. With regard to the mean scores for political opinion, it may be that students do not know how to construct effective letters to public officials and/or they perceive letter writing as an ineffective and impotent tactic in affecting public policy. Finally, involvement in extracurricular activities may be so different in substance and structure from manifest political activities that there is no direct transfer of learning from a nonpolitical or quasi-political context to an overt political context. Instead, the learning acquired in nonpolitical contexts might be filtered through intervening situational/attitudinal variables as Zieblatt argues. These data do partially suggest this possibility, at least with regard to political opinion.

As previously stated in proposition two, we also expect a direct, positive correlation to obtain between involvement in school partisan political activities and manifest political participation. These hypothesized relationships are reported below in Table 2.

The correlations are again weak, and they are not consistently positive as we hypothesized. The zero-order correlations (etas) are not washed out when statistical controls are imposed as the partial betas indicate. Similar to Table 1, the mean scores are moderately high for political discussion and partisan political activities, but low for political opinion and political organization membership.

A closer inspection of the mean scores reported in Table 2 deserves comment. Those students reporting no involvement in school partisan political activities score higher on many of our measures of political participation than those reporting at least <u>one</u> instance of involvement. Generally, there is little difference in mean scores on the four measures of political participation between those students reporting <u>no</u> involvement and those reporting one or <u>two</u> instances of involvement in school partisan political activities. Simply put,

TABLE 2

INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOL PARTISAN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND FOUR INDICATORS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: WITHOUT CONTROLS AND WITH STATISTICAL CONTROLS

	School Partisan Political Activities									
	Without Controls / Fta					With Statistical Controls[a] / Beta				
	0	1	2	3		0	1	2	3	
Political Discussion										
$\bar{X}$	2.54	2.50	2.62	2.65	.07	2.66	2.62	2.68	2.60	.05
Expression of Political Opinion										
$\bar{X}$	0.31	0.23	0.34	0.49	.15	0.30	0.26	0.38	0.47	.11
Political Organization Membership										
$\bar{X}$	0.35	0.61	0.71	0.92	+.17	0.38	0.70	0.79	0.87	+.12
Partisan Political Activities										
$\bar{X}$	1.81	1.77	1.94	2.43	.20	1.83	1.93	2.08	2.34	+.12
Numbers	(26)	(90)	(255)	(568)		(26)	(90)	(255)	(586)	

[a]Sex, race, socioeconomic status, rural-urban residence, school size, family politicization, number of social studies courses, exposure to a course in civics and government, which includes involvement in real political and/or community activities (these latter two controls represent the Accumulation Model), and involvement in extra-curricular activities, and exposure to the mass media are statistically controlled.

involvement in school partisan political activities is weakly related to the four measures of political participation.

A partial and possible explanation for these findings can be cast in a "threshold hypothesis." In brief, before involvement in school partisan political activities is of sufficient intensity to influence the mean scores on the four measures of political participation, a certain level must be attained, that level appears to be two or three instances of involvement in such activities.

The Accumulation Model

The relationship between the number of social studies courses and political participation is reported below in Table 3. Not only are the correlations weak, if not meaningless, they are not consistently in the hypothesized direction. The zero-order correlations between number of social studies courses and (1) political organization membership and (2) partisan political activities, are slight at best. Furthermore, all the zero-order correlations are only slightly reduced with the introduction of statistical controls as evidenced by the corresponding partial betas. Simply put, the zero-order correlations do not disappear.

Although the mean scores for political discussion and partisan political activities are moderately high, the mean scores for political opinion and political organization membership are low. Even more suggestive is the unadjusted mean score (the left portion of Table 3) for political discussion. There is virtually no difference in the mean score of students who have taken three or four social studies courses compared to those who have taken five or six, or even seven or eight. With regard to expression of political opinion, there is a decline in the unadjusted mean score and also the adjusted mean score (the right portion of Table 3) of students who have taken three or four courses compared to those who have taken one or two.

The findings reported in Table 3 might be partially explained by a "maximal effect hypothesis." In short, there is a level of maximum effect beyond which additional course work results in incremental increases in mean scores on our four measures of political participation. It may be that after exposure to four or five social studies courses additional course work is redundant.[17] Also, the number of social studies courses might be too gross a measure as

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF COURSES IN SOCIAL STUDIES AND FOUR INDICATORS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: WITHOUT CONTROLS AND WITH STATISTICAL CONTROLS

	Number of Courses In Social Studies									
	Without Controls / Eta					With Statistical Controls[a]/Beta				
	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8		1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	
Political Discussion										
$\bar{X}$	2.52	2.64	2.65	2.70	+.06	2.62	2.63	2.62	2.61	.01
Expression of Political Opinion										
$\bar{X}$	0.40	0.38	0.50	0.54	.09	0.43	0.39	0.46	0.51	.06
Political Organization Membership										
$\bar{X}$	0.69	0.77	0.96	1.11	+.13	0.80	0.77	0.90	1.03	.08
Partisan Political Activities										
$\bar{X}$	1.90	2.17	2.45	2.54	+.13	2.09	2.18	2.35	2.36	+.07
Numbers	(125)	(547)	(230)	(37)		(125)	(547)	(230)	(37)	

[a]Sex, race, socioeconomic status, rural-urban residence, school size, family politicization, involvement in extracurricular activities, involvement in school partisan political activities (these last two controls constitute the predictors intrinsic to the Apprenticeship Model), exposure to a course in civics and government, which includes involvement in real political and/or community activities, and exposure to the mass media are statistically controlled.

Ehman has suggested.[18] This possibility would necessitate the inclusion of a more specific variable, such as exposure to a unique kind of course, which we shall now consider.

The analysis of the relationship between exposure to a civics and government course including involvement in real political and/or community activities and political participation shifts the focus of concern from quantity of course exposure to content of course exposure.

The findings reported below in Table 4 are mixed. All the correlations, both etas and partial betas are positive. On the other hand, the magnitude of the correlations is modest, with the possible exception of the correlation between course exposure including the involvement component and partisan political activities. The zero-order correlations (etas) do not disappear with the inclusion of statistical controls as evidenced by the partial betas. Thus, we can infer that these zero-order correlations are direct. Although there is a slight reduction in the magnitude of these correlations, that is from etas to partial betas, the reduction is slight given the highly controlled conditions of the MCA.

Even more interesting and suggestive is the unbroken progression in the magnitude of both etas and partial betas in moving from low intensity to high intensity political participation. It might be argued that exposure to a civics and government course, which includes experiences in <u>real</u> political and/or community activities, provides the knowledge dimension requisite for effective participation in high intensity political activities. This assertion is further supported given the consistent trend for <u>all</u> the correlations to be positive and progressively stronger in magnitude from low to high intensity political activities as reported in Table 4.

<u>Conclusions and Implications</u>

Dawson and Prewitt state that extracurricular activities have been promoted by school officials in the belief that such activities "...train the student for political participation and teach him the cultural values associated with it."[19] Furthermore, Dawson and Prewitt argue that student government is the activity with the most direct relevance for political learning.[20] This argument is not supported by these data. The correlations between (1) extracurricular

TABLE 4

EXPOSURE TO A CIVICS AND GOVERNMENT COURSE WHICH INCLUDES INVOLVEMENT IN REAL POLITICAL AND/OR COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES AND FOUR INDICATORS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: WITHOUT CONTROLS AND WITH STATISTICAL CONTROLS

	Course Exposure Which Includes Involvement					
	Without Controls/Eta			With Statistical Controls[a]/Beta		
	No	Yes		No	Yes	
Political Discussion						
$\bar{X}$	2.60	2.73	+.08	2.62	2.66	+.02
Expression of Political Opinion						
$\bar{X}$	0.38	0.54	+.11	0.39	0.52	+.08
Political Organization Membership						
$\bar{X}$	0.75	1.08	+.17	0.77	0.99	+.11
Partisan Political Activities						
$\bar{X}$	2.03	2.89	+.25	2.08	2.71	+.19
Numbers	(737)	(202)		(737)	(202)	

[a]Sex, race, socioeconomic status, rural-urban residence, school size, family politicization, involvement in extracurricular activities, involvement in school partisan political activities (these latter two controls represent the Apprenticeship Model), number of social studies courses, and exposure to the mass media are statistically controlled.

activities and (2) school partisan political activities are not consistently positive and the magnitude of the correlations are weak to be sure. Admittedly, the zero-order correlations (etas) reported in Tables 1 and 2 are not substantially reduced when statistical controls are introduced, but it is also perfectly obvious that involvement in extracurricular activities and school partisan political activities are weak predictors of our four indicators of political participation. In fact, such weak predictive value raises serious questions about justifying the extracurricular activities on the basis of its promoting a positive orientation toward politics.

On balance, school partisan political activities is a more relevant variable than extracurricular activities for explaining political participation. Although both of these activities rely on the transfer principle, it seems that if any transfer of learning is to occur from a quasi-political context to an overt political context, it is more likely to occur the closer the activities are in substance and structure, and school partisan political activities are indeed closer in substance and structure to manifest political participation than are extracurricular activities.

Finally, as Dawson and Prewitt suggest, "...it may not be rates of individual involvement which affect political orientations so much as the general school culture."[21] In sum, the findings reported here with regard to the Apprenticeship Model correspond to those of Erbe, who concedes that organizational membership is a mode of interaction with one's environment, but it does not necessarily have political implications.[22]

Shifting our concern to the number of social studies courses as a whole, the findings reported here correspond with those of Langton and Jennings and Ehman. The magnitude of the correlations between number of social studies courses and the four indicators of political participation (see Table 3) is weak indeed.

In general, the findings reported here extend the Langton and Jennings conclusion that social studies have little independent effect on political attitudes to political participation patterns per se. It might also be that there is not only repetition of previous instruction, but also duplication of cues from other information sources such as the mass media. If we assume that course takers and

non-course takers are similarly exposed to other sources, there would be a lack of differentiation between the two groups.[23]

For these reasons, it appears advisable to look at specific kinds of courses which avoid this redundancy. This is precisely what we did in examining the impact of a civics and government course which includes an involvement component (see Table 4). Although the correlations reported in Table 4 are weak as previously stated, they are all positive and the zero-order relations are direct. There is also, generally, a substantial difference in mean scores between those students who have taken a course in civics and government including an involvement component compared to those who have not.

A major implication from the findings reported here is that if we want to promote involvement in manifest political activities, particularly high intensity activities, we should consider the nature of the learning experiences. Instead of investing our time and efforts in in-class experiences, we could more profitably channel our energies to embrace out-of-class activities--experiences that include involvement in real political and/or community activities. At worst, this shift could seemingly do little harm.

Finally, from this set of findings, it seems likely that a multiplicity of variables operate to promote participation in low time-intensity activities such as political discussion and political opinion. But when the individual moves to high intensity political involvement, such as partisan political activities, it is more likely to be strongly related to a more specific, real-life experience. Before the individual can effectively operate in the wider political system, he must know "how." This requires political knowledge and skills. Such knowledge and skills are a likely outgrowth of taking a civics and government course which includes involvement in real political and/or community activities.

FOOTNOTES

1. Quasi-political activities are those activities which affect a subsystem of the wider political system in contrast to systemic political activities which have a system-wide effect.

2. David Ziblatt, "High School Extracurricular Activities and Political Socialization," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 361 (September, 1965), p. 20.

3. Helen Sonnenburg Lewis, "The Teen-age Joiner and his Orientation Toward Public Affairs: A Test of Two Multiple Group Membership Hypotheses," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1962), quoted in Ziblatt, Ibid., p. 24.

4. Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969) pp. 98-98.

5. Lee H. Ehman, "An Analysis of the Relationship of Selected Educational Variables with the Political Socialization of High School Students," American Educational Research Journal, 6 (November, 1969), pp. 559-80.

6. Langton, op. cit., pp. 140-60.

7. Ellen Shantz, "Sideline Citizens: The Political Education of High School Students," in Political Youth, Traditional Schools, ed. by Byron G. Massialas (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), pp. 64-76.

8. John J. Patrick, "The Impact of an Experimental Course, 'American Political Behavior,' On The Knowledge, Skills, and Attitudes of Secondary School Students," Social Education, 36 (February, 1972), p. 171.

9. Edgar Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Participation," in Learning About Politics, ed. by Roberta S. Sigel (New York: Random House, Inc., 1970), pp. 331, 333.

10. William J. McGuire, "The Nature of Attitudes and Attitude Change," in The Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. by Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1969), chapter 3. Quoted in Shantz, op. cit., p. 65.

11. For a complete description of the Apprenticeship Model see Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1969), pp. 69-72.

12. For a detailed discussion of the Accumulation Model see Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Anchor Books (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1968), pp. 23-24, 105.

13. Dawson and Prewitt, op. cit., p. 64.

14. These data were collected under the auspices of the American Political Science Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. I want to thank Professors Lee F. Anderson and Richard C. Remy for permitting me to use these data. Also, the purposive nature of our sample limits the generalizability of these findings.

15. I am indebted to Marvin E. Olsen of the Battelle Human Affairs Research Center, Seattle, Washington, for proposing that political participation is multidimensional in the manner used here. For a complete description of the methodology underlying this study, see James R. Lewellen, "Exploring The Political Participation Patterns Of High School Students," unpublished Ed.D. dissertation (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1972.)

16. For additional information on MCA see Frank Andrews et al., Multiple Classification Analysis (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, 1967).

17. Langton, op. cit., p. 99.

18. Ehman, op. cit., p. 579.

19. Dawson and Prewitt, op cit., pp. 170-71.

20. Ibid., p. 171.

21. Ibid., p. 172.

22. William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," American Sociological Review, 29 (April, 1964), pp. 214-15.

23. Langton, op. cit., p. 99.